T/SOR/50/3/2

Jim Kelman

c/o The Venue

15 Calton Road

EDINBURGH ~~EH8 8DL~~

James McLaren

notebook contains notes on dialect etc

7/SOR/59/3/2

Books Wanted.

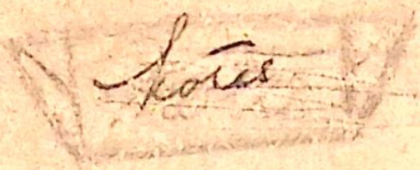
1. The Culture of Cities - L. Mumford.
2. Selected correspondence - Marx Engels
3. Anti-Dühring - Engels
4. Origin of the Family - Engels.
5. Prehistory of Scotland - Childe
6. Man makes Himself - Childe
7. Ludwig Feuerbach - Engels
8. A Text Book of Marxist Philosophy
9. ~~Communist Manifesto Policy and Success~~ (Paper Cover) (Draper)
10. The Communist Party Manifesto
11. Science for the Citizen - Hogben.

NOTE.

1. Soup Spoon 2. Fork.
3. Teaspoon 4. Dessert Spoon.
5. Forks

Notes

Notes



From "Spokesmen For Liberty, Edgell Rickwood Jack Lindsay

O yet a nobler task awaits thy hand
(For what can war but endless wars still breed)
Till truth and right from violence be freed,
And public faith freed from the shameful brand
Of public fraud. In vain doth valour bleed
While avarice and rapine share the land.

Milton.

Quoted in "Spokesmen For Liberty by Jack Lindsay and Edgell Rickwood.

Then let us pray that come it may,
As come it will for a' that,
That sense and worth o'er a' the earth,
May bear the gree and to a room
For a' that and a that to a room.
It's coming yet, f estimated at 150,000,000
When man to man, on's Pamphlet
Shall brothers be for

TEC Drawing

DRAW 4 VIEWS of RCC Prism

L = 5 HT = 3 BREADTH = 2

Draw development

number all points

2. L = 6 ht = 3 breadth = 3

Letter all points

12. Mill workers in Britain.
There is a Jewish State in USSR,
Beribizan.
Manchester Guardian. Liberal.
News Chronicle. Left wing. "
Soviet Embassy. Trafalgar square.
London. write for Soviet war news
India. Population 400,000,000, 8 times U.K
" Area 1,848,679 15 times G.B.
" Less than 8 per cent of population literate
39 per cent are well nourished. 41 per cent
poorly nourished. 20 per cent starving
74 per cent live in one room tenements.
35 per cent live 5 to a room
256,379 live 6 to 9 to a room.
Britain's "Tribute" estimated £ at 150,000,000
from. Krishna Menon's Pamphlet
India and Freedom
September 1941. Alan

Historically, states were formed out of different tribes and races. They were not nations, but casually and loosely connected conglomerations of peoples, which fell apart or joined together depending on the victories or defeats of this or that conqueror.

Thus, a nation is not a casual or ephemeral conglomeration, but a stable community of people.

But not every community constitutes a nation. Austria and Russia are also stable communities, but nobody calls them nations. What distinguishes a national community from a political Community?

One of the distinguishing features is that a national community is unconceivable without a common language, while a

State need not necessarily have a Common language. The Czech nation in Austria and the Polish in Russia would be impossible if each did not have a common language, whereas the integrity of Russia and Austria is not affected by the fact that there are several different languages within their borders. We are referring, of course, to the colloquial language of the people and not to the official government language. Thus Community of language is one of the characteristic features of a nation. This, of course, does not mean that nations always and everywhere necessarily speak different languages, or that all who speak one language necessarily constitute one nation.

A common language for every nation, but not necessarily different languages for different nations. There is no nation which at one and the same time speaks several languages but this does not mean that there may not be two nations speaking the same language. Englishmen and Americans speak one language, but they do not constitute one nation. The same is true of the Norwegians and the Danes, the English and the Irish.

But why, for instance, do not the English and the Americans constitute one nation in spite of their Common Language? Firstly, because they do not live together, but inhabit different territories. A nation is

formed only as a result of lengthy and systematic intercourse, a result of the fact that people live together from generation to generation. But people cannot live together for lengthy periods unless they have a common territory. Englishmen and Americans originally inhabited the same territory England, and constituted one nation. Later, one section of the English emigrated from England to a new territory, America, and here, in the new territory, in the course of time came to form the new American nation. Difference of territory led to the formation of different nations. Thus Community of Territory is one of the characteristic features of a nation.

But this is not all. Community of Territory in itself does not create a nation. This requires, in addition, an internal economic bond which welds the various parts of a nation into a single whole. There is no such bond between England and America, and so they constitute two different nations. But the American Colonies would not deserve to be called a nation were not the different parts of America bound together into an economic whole, as a result of this the division of labour between them, the development of the means of communication, and so forth.

The Georgians take the Georgians for instance. [illegible]

The Georgians before the reform
inhabited a common territory and
spoke one language. Nevertheless,
they did not, strictly speaking, constitute
one nation, for being split up into
a number of disconnected principalities,
the could not share a common
economic life; for centuries the waged
war against each other and pillaged
each other by inciting the Persians
and Turks against each other.
The ephemeral and accidental
amalgamation of the principalities
which some successful King managed
to bring about affected at best
a superficial administrative sphere
and rapidly disintegrated owing
to the caprices of the princes and
the indifference of the peasants.

Nor could it be otherwise in economically disunited Georgia. Georgia came on to the scene as a nation in the latter half of the nineteenth century, when the fall of serfdom and the growth of the economic life of the country, the developement of the means of communication and the rise of Capitalism, instituted a division of labour between the various districts of Georgia, completely shattered the economic self-sufficiency of the principalities and bound them together into a single whole. The same must be said of the other nations which have passed through the stage of Feudalism and have developed Capitalism.

Thus Community of economic life, economic cohesion, is one of the characteristic features of a nation. But even this is not all. Apart from the foregoing, one must take into consideration the specific spiritual complexion of a people constituting a nation. Nations differ not only in their conditions of life, but also in spiritual complexion, which manifests itself in peculiarities of national culture. If England, America and Ireland speak one language, nevertheless constitute three distinct nations, it is in no small measure due to the peculiar psychological make-up which they developed from generation to generation as a result of accumulated conditions

of existence.

Of course, ~~the~~ by itself the psychological make-up of the National Character, as it is otherwise called, is something indefinable to the observer, but inasmuch as it manifests itself in a distinctive culture common to the nation it is definable and cannot be ignored. Needless to say "national character" is not a thing that is fixed once and for all, but is modified by changes in the emotions of life; but since it exists at every given moment, it leaves its imprint on the physiognomy of the nation. Thus Community of psychological make-up, which manifests itself in a Community

of culture, is one of the characteristic features of a nation.

We have now exhausted the characteristic features of a nation.

A nation is a historically evolved, stable community of language, territory, economic life, and psychological make-up manifested in a community of culture. It goes without saying that a nation, like every other historical phenomenon, is subject to the law of change, has its history, its beginning and end. It must be emphasised that none of the above characteristics by itself is sufficient to define a nation. On the other hand, it is sufficient for a single one of these characteristics to be absent and the nation ceases to be a nation.

Even as early as the last century the development of Capitalism showed a tendency to internationalise the means of production and exchange, to eliminate national oddness, to bring peoples into closer economic relations, and gradually to merge vast territories into a connected whole. The further development of capitalism, the development of the world markets, the perfection of the great land and sea routes, the export of Capital, and so on, still further accentuated this tendency and bound all kinds of peoples by the ties of division of labour and universal interdependence. Inasmuch as this was a reflection of

of a colossal development of productive forces, inasmuch as it helped to destroy the national isolation of and the contradictions between the interests of the various peoples, it was and is a progressive process, for it is creating the material conditions for a future world socialist economic system.

2/ But this tendency developed in specific forms which were completely at variance with its intrinsic historical significance. The interdependence of peoples and the economic amalgamation of territories arose in the course of the development of capitalism not as a result of the collaboration of peoples enjoying equal status, but by means of subjection of certain peoples

by others, by the oppression and exploitation of the less developed peoples by the more developed peoples. Colonial plunder and annexations, national oppression and inequality, imperialist violence and arbitrary rule, colonial slavery and national subjection, and, finally, the struggle among the "civilised" nations for mastery over the "uncivilised" peoples - such were the forms in which the process of economic amalgamation of peoples took place. For this reason we find that, side by side with tendency to amalgamation, there grew up a tendency to destroy the harmony. violent forms of this amalgamation, a struggle for the emancipation of the oppressed colonies and dependent nationalities from the imperialist yoke. Inasmuch as the latter tendency implied a revolt against of the oppressed masses

imperialist forms of amalgamation, inasmuch as it embraced the amalgamation of peoples on the basis of collaboration and voluntary union, it was and is a progressive tendency, for it is creating the psychological conditions for the future communist economic system.

3. The conflict between these two principal tendencies, expressed in forms that are natural to capitalism, fills the history of the multi-national ~~[illegible]~~ bourgeois states during the last half century. The fact that the contradiction between these two tendencies is irreconcilable within the framework of capitalist development was the basic reason for the intrinsic insolvency and the organic instability of the bourgeois colonial states.

Inevitable conflicts within such states and inevitable wars between such states; disintegration of the old colonial states and the formation of new ones; new drive for colonies and again the disintegration of the multi-national states, leading to a new re-arrangement of the political map of world — such are the results of this fundamental contradiction. The disintegration of the old Russia, of Austria-Hungary and of Turkey on the one hand, and the history of such colony-owning states as Great Britain and old Germany on the other; and, lastly, the "great" imperialist war and the growth of the revolutionary movement among the colonial and non-sovereign peoples — all these and similar facts clearly point to the instability and insolidity of the multi-national bourgeois states

Thus the irreconcilable contradiction between the economic amalgamation of the peoples and the imperialist methods of accomplishing this amalgamation was the cause of the inability, the impotence and helplessness of the bourgeoisie in finding a correct approach to the solution of the national problem.

Stalin. Marxism and the National and Colonial Question. page 137.

The Liberation of the oppressed Peoples and the Proletarian Revolution

In its solution of the national problem Leninism proceeds from the following propositions:

A) The world is divided into two camps: the camp of a handful of "civilized" nations who possess finance capital and exploit the vast majority of the population of the Globe, the camp of the oppressed and exploited peoples of the colonies and dependent countries that comprise the majority;

B) The Colonies and dependent countries, oppressed and exploited by finance capital, constitute an enormous reserve power and a most important source of strength for imperialism.

C) The revolutionary struggle of the oppressed peoples in the dependent and colonial countries against imperialism is the only road that leads to their emancipation

from oppression and exploitation;

D) The principal colonial and dependent countries have already entered on the path of the national liberation movement, which is bound to bring about a crisis in world capitalism;

E) The interests of the proletarian movement in the advanced countries and of the national liberation movement in the colonies require the fusion of these two aspects of the revolutionary movement into a common front against the common enemy, imperialism;

F) The victory of the working class in the advanced countries and the liberation of the oppressed peoples from the yoke of imperialism is impossible without the formation and consolidation of the common revolutionary front;

g) The formation of a common revolutionary front is impossible unless the proletariat of the oppressor nations renders direct and determined support to the liberation movement of the oppressed peoples against the imperialism of its own country, for "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations": Marx.

H) The support implies the advocacy, the defence and realization of the slogan of the right of nations to secession and to independent political existence;

I) Unless this slogan is put into effect, the amalgamation and collaboration of nations within a single world system of economy, which constitutes the material basis for the victory of socialism, will be impossible;

3) The amalgamation can only be a voluntary one and must be based on mutual confidence and fraternal relations between the nations.

Here the two aspects, the two tendencies in the national question: the tendency towards political emancipation from imperialist fetters and the formation of an independent national state, arising out of imperialist oppression and colonial exploitation; and the tendency towards closer economic relations between the nations resulting from the formation of a world market and world economic systems.

For imperialism these two tendencies represent irreconcilable contradictions, because imperialism cannot subsist without the exploitation of the colonies and their forcible retention

within the framework of "one integral whole";
for imperialism can bring the nations ~~together~~
closer to each other only through annexations
and the seizure of colonies, without which it is
generally speaking, inconceivable.

For communism, on the contrary, these ~~This~~ tendencies
are only two sides of a single cause — that
of the emancipation of the oppressed peoples
from the yoke of imperialism; for communism
knows that the amalgamation of the nations
into a single world economic system is possible
only on the basis of mutual confidence and
voluntary agreement; that formation of a
voluntary amalgamation
of nations must be preceded by the separation of
the colonies from the "integral" imperialist "whole",
by the transformation of the colonies into
independent states.

Hence the necessity for a stubborn, incessant
and determined struggle against the

The deviators towards Great-Russian chauvinism are profoundly mistaken if they think that the period of building socialism in the U.S.S.R. is a period of decay and liquidation for national cultures. While the opposite is the case. As a matter of fact, the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the building of socialism in the U.S.S.R. is a period in which national cultures, socialist in content and national in form, blossom. Apparently they do not realise that the development of national cultures is bound to proceed with a new impetus when universal compulsory elementary education in the respective native languages has been introduced and has taken root. They fail to realise that only if the national cultures develop will it be possible to secure

the real participation of the backward nationalities in the work of socialist construction. The do not realise that this is the basis of the Leninist policy of assisting and supporting the development of the national cultures of the peoples of the U.S.S.R.

It may seem strange that we, who are in favour of the fusion of national cultures in the future into one common culture (both in form and content), with a single, common language, are at the same time in favour of the blossoming of the national cultures at the present time, in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat. But there is nothing strange in this. The national cultures must be permitted to develop and unfold and

To reveal all their potential qualities, necessary.
in order to create the conditions for
their fusion into a single, common
culture with a single, common language.
The blossoming of national cultures national
in form and socialist in content under
the dictatorship of the proletariat in one
country, with the object of their fusion into
a single, common, socialist (both in form
and content) culture, with a single, common
language, when the proletariat is victorious
throughout the world and socialism
becomes an everyday matter - such is the
dialectical nature of the Leninist presentation
of the question of national culture.
It may be said that presented in this
way, the question is self-contradictory.
But is there not the same sort of self-
contradiction our treatment of the question
of the state?

We are in favour of the withering away of the state, yet we are at the same time in favour of the strengthening of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which represents the most powerful and mighty form of state power that have hitherto existed. The supreme development of the power of the state, with the object of preparing the way for the withering away of the state power - such is the Marxist formula. Is that self-contradictory. Yes it is self-contradictory. But this contradiction is a living thing, and it is a complete reflection of Marxian dialectics.

Or take, for example, the way Lenin presents the question of the the right of nations to self-determination, including secession.

Lenin sometimes expressed the theses of national self-determination in the form of a simple formula: "disunion for the purpose of union". Great think — disunion for the purpose of union!. It even smacks of the paradoxical. And yet this self-contradictory formula reflects that living fruit of Marxian dialectics which enables the Bolsheviks to capture the most impregnable fortresses in the sphere of the national question.

The same must be said of the formula of national culture: the blossoming of national cultures (and languages) in the period of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one country, with the object of preparing the way for their dying away and ~~fusion~~ fusion into a single, common, socialist culture (and a single common language)

in the period of the victory of socialism all over the world.

Whoever has failed to understand this peculiarity and this self-contradictory nature of our transitional times, whoever has failed to understand this dialectical character of historical process, is lost to Marxism. Ibid. page 261.

As to the remoter prospects of national cultures and national languages, I have always maintained, and continue to maintain, the Leninist view that in the period of the victory of socialism on a world scale, when socialism has been consolidated and has become a matter of everyday life, the national languages will inevitably fuse into a single, common Language, which, of course will be neither Great-Russian nor German, But something new. Ibid page 264.

Dialectical Materialism is the world outlook of the Marxist - Leninist Party. It is called dialectical Materialism because its approach to the phenomena of nature, its method of studying them, is dialectical, while its interpretation of the phenomena, its conception of these phenomena, its theory is materialistic.

Historical Materialism is the extension of the principals of dialectical Materialism to the study of social life, an application of the principals of dialectical materialism to the phenomena of the life of society, to the study of society and its history.

Stalin's Dialectical And Historical Materialism

In the social productions which men carry on they enter into definite relations that are indispensable and independent of their will; these relations of production correspond to a definite stage of development of their material forces of production. The sum total of these relations of productions constitutes the economic structure of society — the real foundation, on which rises a legal and political superstructure and to which correspond definite forms of social conciousness. The mode of production on material life determines the social, political and intellectual life process in general. It is not the conciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary, their social being determines their conciousness.

At a certain stage of development, in society the material forces of production come into conflict with the existing relations of productions, or; — what is but a legal expression for the same thing — the property relations within which they have been at work before. From forms of development of the forces of production these relations turn into their fetters. Then begins an epoch of social revolution. With the change of the economic foundation the entire immense superstructure is more or less rapidly transformed. In considering such a transformation a distinction should always be made between the material transformations of the economic conditions of production, which can be determined by the precision

of natural science, and the legal, political, religious, aesthetic or philosophic - in short, ideological forms in which men become conscious of this conflict and fight it out. Just as our opinion of an individual is not based on what he thinks of himself, so can we not judge such a period of transformation by its own consciousness; on the contrary, this consciousness must be explained rather from the contradictions of material life, from the existing conflict of the ~~material~~ social forces of production and the relations of production. No social order ever disappears before all the productive forces for which there is room in it have been developed; and new higher relations of production never appear before the material conditions for their existence have matured in the womb of old society itself.

Therefore, mankind always sets itself only such tasks as it can solve; since, looking at the matter more closely, we will always find that the task itself arises only when the material conditions necessary for its solution already exist or are at least in the process of formation. Karl Marx.

Outstanding individuals may become nonentities if their ideas and wishes run counter to the economic development of society, to the needs of the foremost class; and vice versa, outstanding people may really become outstanding individuals if their ideas and wishes correctly express the needs of the economic development of society, the needs of the foremost class.

History of C.P.S.U.(B). P. 14.

Notes on the U.S.S.R.

The Press.

1913 = 859 newspapers. circulation 2,700,000

1940. 8,350 " " 47,520,000

My dialectical method is fundamentally not only different from the Hegelian, but is its direct opposite. To Hegel, the process of thinking, which under the name of "The Idea", he even transforms into an independent subject, is the demiurge (creator) of the real world, and the real world is only the external, phenomenal form of "the Idea". With me, on the contrary, the ideal is nothing else than the material word reflected by the human mind and translated into forms of thought.

Capital P. 30 xxx Vol. 1.

Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics does not regard nature as an accidental agglomeration of things, of phenomena, unconnected with, isolated from, and independent of, each other, but as a connected and integral whole, in which things, are organically connected

with, dependent on, and determined by, each other.

The dialectical method holds therefore that no phenomenon in nature can be understood if taken by itself, isolated from surrounding phenomena, inasmuch as any phenomenon in any realm of nature may become meaningless to us if it is not considered in connection with the surrounding conditions, but divorced from them; and that, vice versa, any phenomenon can be understood and explained if considered in its inseperable connection with surrounding phenomena, as one conditioned by surrounding phenomena.

B) Contrary to metaphisics, dialectics holds that nature is not in a state of rest and immobility, stagnation and immutability, but a state of continuous movement and change, a continuous

renewal and development, where something is always arising and developing, and something disintegrating and dying away.

The dialectical method therefore requires that phenomena should be considered not only from the standpoint of their interconnection and interdependence, but also from the standpoint of their movement, their change, their development, their coming into being and going out of being.

The dialectical method regards as important primarily not that which at the given moment seems to be durable and yet is already beginning to die away, but that which is arising and developing, even though at the given moment it may appear to be not durable, for the dialectical method considers invincible only that which is arising and developing.

"All nature" says Engels, "from the smallest thing to the biggest, from a grain of sand to the sun, from the protista (the primary living cell) to man, is in a constant state of coming into being and going out of being, in a constant flux, in a ceaseless state of movement and change."

Therefore, dialectics, Engels says, "takes things and their perceptual images essentially in their interconnection, in their concatination, in their movement, in their rise and disappearance."

c) Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics does not regard the process of development as a simple process of growth, where quantitative changes do not lead to qualitative changes, but as a development which passes from imperceptible and imperceptible quantitative changes to open, fundamental changes, to qualitative changes; a development in which the

qualitative changes occur not gradually, but rapidly and abruptly, taking the form of a leap from one state to another; they occur not accidentally but as the natural result of an accumulation of imperceptible and gradual quantitative changes.

The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development should be understood not as a movement in a circle, not as a simple repetition of what has already occurred, but as an onward and upward movement, as a transition from an old qualitative state to new qualitative state, as a development from the simple to the complex, from the lower to the higher:

"Nature," says Engels, "is the test of dialectics, and

it must be said for modern natural science that it has furnished extremely rich and daily increasing materials for this test, and has thus proved that in the last analysis nature's process is dialectical and not metaphysical, that it does not move in an eternally uniform and constantly repeated circle, but passes through a real history. Here first mention should be made of Darwin, who dealt a severe blow to the metaphysical conception of nature by proving that the organic world of today, plants and animals, and consequently man too, is only the product of a process of development that has been in progress for millions of years."

D) Contrary to metaphysics, dialectics holds

that internal contradictions are inherent in all things and phenomena of nature, for they all have their negative and positive sides, a past and a future, something dying away and something developing; and that the struggle ~~with~~ between these opposites, the struggle between the old and the new, between that which is dying away and that which is being born, between that which is disappearing and that which is developing, constitutes the internal content of the transformation of quantitative changes into qualitative changes.

The dialectical method therefore holds that the process of development from lower to higher takes place not as

a harmonious unfolding of phenomena, but as a disclosure of the contradictions inherent in things and phenomena, as a "struggle" of opposite tendencies which operate on the basis of these contradictions.

"In its proper meaning" says Lenin, "dialectics is the study of the contradiction within the very essence of things"

And further:

Development is the "struggle" of opposites."

History CPSU(B). P106-109

Further if the passing of slow quantitative changes into rapid and abrupt qualitative changes is a law of development, then it is clear that revolutions made by oppressed classes are quite a natural and inevitable phenomenon.

Hence the transition from capitalism to socialism and the liberation of the working class from the yoke of capitalism cannot be effected by slow changes, by reforms, but only by a qualitative change of the capitalist system, by revolution.

P. 101.

The Principal features of Marxist philosophical materialism are as follows:

A) Contrary to idealism, which regards the world as the embodiment of an "absolute idea", a "universal spirit," "consciousness", Marxist philosophical materialism holds that the world is by its very nature material, that the multifold phenomena of the world constitute different forms of matter in motion, that the interconnection and interdependence of phenomena, as

established by the dialectical method, are a law of the development of moving matter and that the world develops in accordance with laws of movement of matter and stands in no need of a "universal spirit".

"The Materialist world outlook", says Engels is simply the conception of nature as it is, without any reservations" (Ludwig Feuerbach) Speaking of the materialist views of the ancient philosopher Heraclitus, who held that "the world, the all-in one, was not created by any god or any man, but was, is and ever will be a living flame, systematically flaring up and systematically dying down, Lenin comments: "A very good exposition of the rudiments of dialectical materialism"

B) Contrary to idealism, which asserts that only our mind really exists, and that the material world, being, nature, exists only in our mind, in our sensations, ideas and perceptions, the Marxist materialist philosophy holds that matter, nature, being, is an objective reality existing outside and independent of our mind; that matter is primary, since it is the source of sensations, mind, ideas and that mind is secondary, derivative, since it is a reflection of matter, a reflection of being; that thought is a product of matter which in its development has reached a high degree of perfection, namely, of the brain, and the brain is the organ of thought; and that therefore one cannot separate thought from matter without committing a gross error

Engels says: The question of the relation of thinking to being, the relation of spirit to ~~being~~ nature is the paramount question of the whole of philosophy . . . The answers which philosophers gave to this question split them into two great camps. Those who asserted the primacy of Spirit to nature . . . comprised the camp of Idealism. The others, who regarded nature as primary, belong to the various ~~camps~~ schools of materialism. And further:

"The material, sensuously perceptible world to which we ourselves belong is the only reality . . . Our consciousness and thinking, however supra-sensuous they may seem, are the product of a material, bodily organ, the brain.

Matter is not a product of the mind, but mind itself is merely the highest product of matter.

Concerning the question of matter and thought, Marx says:

"It is impossible to separate thought from matter that thinks. Matter is the subject of all changes."

Describing the Marxist philosophy of Materialism Lenin says: "Materialism in general recognizes objectively real being (matter) as independent of consciousness, sensation, experience ... . Consciousness is only the reflection of being, at best, an approximately true (adequate, ideally exact) reflection of it." And further: "Matter is that which, acting upon our sense-organs, produces sensation; matter is the objective reality given to

as in sensation ... Matter, nature, being, the physical - as primary, and spirit, consciousness, sensation, the psychical - as secondary".

"The correct picture is a picture of how matter moves and of how matter thinks".

"The brain is the organ of thought".

c) Contrary to idealism, which denies the possibility of knowing the world and its laws, which does not believe in the authenticity of our knowledge, does not recognize objective truth, and holds that the world is full of "things-in-themselves" that can never be known to science, Marxist-philosophical materialism holds that the world and its laws are fully knowable, that our knowledge of the laws of nature, tested by experiment and practice, is authentic knowledge

knowing the reality of objective truth and that there are no things in the world which are unknowable, but only things which are still not known, but which will be disclosed and made known by the efforts of science and practice.

Criticizing the thesis of Kant and other idealists that the world is unknowable and that there are "things-in-themselves" which are unknowable, and defending the well-known materialist thesis that our knowledge is authentic knowledge, Engels writes:

"The most telling refutation of this as of all other philosophical fancies is practice. viz, experiment and Industry. If we are able to prove the correctness of our conception of a natural process

by making it ourselves, bringing it into being out of its conditions and using it for our own purposes into the bargain, then there is an end of the Kantian "thing-in-itself". The chemical substances produced in the bodies of plants and animals remained such "things-in-themselves" until organic chemistry began to produce them one after another, whereupon the-thing-in-itself became a thing for us, as for instance Alizarin, the colouring matter of the madder, which we no longer trouble to grow in the madder roots in the field, but produce much more cheaply and simply from coal tar. For three hundred years the Copernican Solar system was a hypothesis, with a hundred, a thousand

or ten thousand chances to one in its favour, but still always a hypothesis. But when Leverrier, by means of the data provided by this system, not only deduced the necessity of the existence of an unknown planet, but also calculated the position in the heavens ~~the position~~ on which this planet must necessarily occupy, and when Galle really found this planet, ~~was~~ the Copernican system was proved". Engels Accusing Bogdanov, Bazarov, Yushkevich and other followers of Mach of fideism, and defending the well-known materialist thesis that our scientific knowledge of the laws of nature is authentic knowledge, and that the laws of science represent objective truth; Lenin says:

Contemporary fideism does not at all reject science; all it rejects is the 'exaggerated claims' of science, to wit, its claims to objective truth. If objective truth exists (as the materialists think), if natural science, reflecting the outer world in human 'experience', is alone capable of giving us objective truth, then all fideism is absolutely refuted." Lenin.

If the connection between the phenomena of nature and their interdependence are laws of the development of nature, it follows, too, that the connection and interdependence of the phenomena of social life are laws of the development of society, and not something accidental. P114.

Hence social life, the history of society, ceases to be an agglomeration of 'accidents'.

and becomes the history of the development of society according to regular laws, and the study of the history of society becomes a science. Hence the activity of the party of the proletariat must not be based on the good wishes of "outstanding individuals", not on the dictates of "reason", "universal morals" etc, but on the laws of the development of society and on the study of these laws. P. 114

Whatever is the being of a society, whatever are the conditions of material life of a society, such are the ideas, theories, political views and political institutions of that society.

In this connection Marx says:

"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but, on the contrary, the social being that determines their consciousness"

Marx

It does not follow from Marx's words, however, that social ideas, theories, political views and political institutions are of no significance in the life of society, that they do not reciprocally affect social being, the development of the material conditions of the life of society. We have been speaking so far of the origin of social ideas, theories, political views and political institutions, of the way they arise, of the fact that the spiritual life of society is a reflection of the conditions of its material life. As regards the significance of social ideas, theories, views and political institutions, as regards their role in history, historical materialism, far from denying them, stresses the role and the importance of these factors in the life of society, in its history.

There are different kinds of social ideas and theories. There are old ideas & theories which have outlived their day and which serve the interests of the moribund forces of society. Their significance lies in the fact that they hamper the development, the progress of society. Then there are new and advanced ideas and theories which serve the interests of the advanced forces of society. Their significance lies in the fact that they facilitate the development, the progress of society; and their significance is the greater the more accurately reflect the needs of development of the material life of society.

New social ideas only arise after the development of the material life of society has set new tasks before society. But one they have arisen they

become a most potent force which facilitates the carrying out of the new tasks ~~of society~~ set by the development of the material life of society, a force which facilitates the progress of society. It is precisely here that the tremendous organizing, mobilizing and transforming value of new ideas, new theories, new political views and political institutions manifests itself. New social ideas arise precisely because they are necessary to society, because it is impossible to carry out the urgent tasks of development of the material life of society without their organizing, mobilizing and transforming action. Arising out of the new tasks set by the development of the material life of society, the new social ideas and theories force their way through, become the possession

of the masses, mobilize and organize the against the moribund forces of society, and thus facilitate the overthrow of these forces which hamper the development of the material life of society.

Thus social ideas, theories and political institutions, having arisen on the basis of the urgent tasks of the development of the material life of society, the development of social being, themselves react upon social being, upon the material life of society, creating the conditions necessary for completely carrying out the urgent tasks of the material life of society, and for rendering its further development possible.

In this connection Marx says:

"Theory becomes a material force as soon as it has gripped the masses".

Hence, in order to be able to influence the material life of society and to accelerate development and their improvement, the party of the proletariat must rely upon a social theory, such a social idea as correctly reflects the needs of development of the material life of society, and which therefore capable of setting into motion broad masses of the people and mobilizing them and organizing them into a great army of the proletarian party, prepared to smash the reactionary forces and to clear the way for the advanced forces of society P 117.

From Dialectical and Historical Materialism

P.118. HISTORY OF C.P.S.U.(B). - Stalin's Dialectical & Historical Material

It now remains to elucidate the following question: what, from the viewpoint of historical materialism, is meant by the "conditions of the material life of society" which in the final analysis determine the physiognomy of society, its ideas, views, political institutions etc. What, after all, are these "conditions of the material life of society," what are their distinguishing features.

1. Geographical environment influences the development of society, but it is not the determining influence, inasmuch as the the changes and development of society proceed at an incomparably faster rate than the change and development of geographical environment. In the space of three thousand years three different social systems have been successively superseded ~~in Europe~~; and ~~in~~ the Eastern part of Europe, in the USSR., four social systems have been successively superseded

2. Growth and density of population influences society, but, it is not the ~~determining~~ chief force which determines the character of the social system of man. The density of population

is four times as great as in the U.S.A., yet the U.S.A. stands higher than France in the scale of social development, for in France a semi-feudal system still prevails, whereas the U.S.A. long ago reached the highest stage of development of capitalism.

3. The determining force is the the method of procuring the means of life necessary for human existence, the mode of production of material values — food, clothing, footwear, houses, fuel, instruments of production, etc., — which are indispensable for the life and development of society. In order to produce these material values people must have the instruments of production with which they are made.

The instruments of production wherewith material values are produced, the people who operate the instruments of production and carry on the production of material values thanks to a certain production experience and labour skill — all these elements jointly constitute the productive forces of society.

Relations in production constitute just as essential an element

of production are the productive forces of society.

"In production, Marx says, "men not only act on nature but also on one another. They produce only by co-operating in a certain way and mutually exchanging their activities. In order to produce, they enter into definite connections and relations with one another and only within these social connections and relations does their action on nature, does production, take place."

Consequently, production, the mode of production, embraces both the productive forces of society and men's relations of production, and is thus the embodiment of unity in the process of production of material values. P.120.

P.121. This means that the history of the development of society is above all the history of the development of production, the history of the modes of production which succeed each other in the course of centuries, the history of the development of productive forces and of people's relations of production.

Hence the history of social development is at the same time the history of the producers of material values themselves, the history of the labouring masses who are the chief force in the process of production and who carry on production of material values necessary for the existence of society.

A feature of production is that its changes and development always begin with changes and development of the productive forces, and first of the first place, with changes and development of the instruments of production. Productive forces are therefore the most mobile and revolutionary elements of production. First the productive forces of society change and develop, and then, depending on these changes and in conformity with them, men's relations of production, their economic relations, change. This, however, does not mean that the relations of production do not influence the development of the productive forces and that the latter are not dependent on the former. While their development is dependent on the development of the productive forces, the relations of production in their turn react upon the development of the productive forces, accelerating or retarding it. The productive forces can develop in full measure only when the relations of production correspond to the character, the state of the productive forces and allow full scope for their development.

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1 Father in heaven who lovest all
Oh help Thy children when they call
That they may build from age to age
An undefiled heritage

2 Teach us to bear the yoke in youth
With steadfastness and careful truth
That in our time Thy grace may give
The truth whereby nations live

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James McLaren.
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Glasgow. S6,

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James M. Loren
4 Bruce Pl.
Glasgow.

Stalin: Dialectical Materialism
and
National Question

Notes.

Notes on Stalin's Works